

ISSUES & EVENTS

Volume 2 No. 11

November 26, 1970

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war measures

James Eayrs

James Eayrs who is professor of Political Economy at the University of Toronto spoke to the Political Science Society Wednesday. Below, excerpts of the address entitled "The Aftermath of Overkill".

The record of resort to emergency power in Canada is a sad and sorry record. Innocents molested, enemies unscathed, governments embarrassed, citizens ashamed.

Resort to emergency power in Canada is made possible by the War Measures Act and by the Public Order Bill. The Public Order Bill is not yet the law of its land, but the War Measures Act goes back to the first world war.

When Canada entered World War One, no legislation like it stood on the statute books. It was assumed that some was needed. Britain was the obvious model. But the mother of Parliaments, solicitous of civil liberty, had seen fit to specify what government might do. In a Canadian adaption, the Defence of the Realm Act ran to three and a half pages of galley type.

Sir Robert Borden's cabinet deemed this far too cumbersome. Enemy aliens might slink through its loopholes, suspicious characters hide out in the fine print.

During the Second World War, rather than the First, Chafee's warning proved most timely. Using the War Measures Act, the federal government early in 1942 deprived "all members of the Japanese race", whether Canadian citizens or not, of their jobs, their domiciles, their properties, their liberties. A livestock building in Vancouver served as a reception center for some 22,000 men, women and children on their way to work camps in the interior. It was alleged that among them were spies and saboteurs.

Not since the expulsion of the Acadians had there been such mass injustice. "The bitterness, the anguish, is complete", wrote one of those interned to the custodian of Japanese properties after the government had sold the home from which he and his family had been forcibly evicted. "You who deal in lifeless fi-

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inflation vs employment

Morty Stelcner

Morty Stelcner is assistant professor of Economics and consultant in the International Institute of Quantitative Economics.

I think the best explanation for our inflationary situation is the "cost push" argument in which a certain number of powerful industrial groups in society are able to exercise their demands - either unions or corporations like the automotive workers and General Motors Corporation. If we take this case, the union claims wage increases pointing to increased productivity and increased profits. So General Motors will probably accept these demands. But this doesn't mean that GM will accept a reduction in their profits because they will pass on these wage demands in the form of higher prices which will percolate throughout the economy and eventually be reflected in increases in the general price level.

But how do you solve it? Some countries have adopted wage-price guidelines whereby governments try to indicate warranted wage demands and price increases which the powerful groups have tried to obtain. But these are voluntary and haven't really worked. I believe that a little more arm twisting can be done on the part of government and by arm twisting I mean on both the unions and corporations. Eventually it will have to amount to that. Some sort of penalties will have to be imposed.

In a practical sense, certain penalties should be imposed. If a tariff exists protecting this industry, and unions demand higher wages which are not warranted, one threat which could be used is to reduce the tariff - in other words throw back the problem to them - do they want higher wages or higher unemployment in that industry? There could be other penalties imposed in areas of increased taxes on certain industries. In the extreme, direct wage and price controls could be resorted to.

I disagree with Trudeau in that the problems which he attaches to inflation are greater than those which result from

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SGWAUT unionization

In his opening remarks President Calvin Potter said that accelerating changes inside and outside the University required that members be very conscious of the purposes of their association. He noted that during the past year the role of SGWAUT in relation to the administration had changed from "one of desultory consultation to firm but friendly negotiation". He then appealed for more members to take part in the various related committees. Externally there were several developments that threatened the autonomy of the University, and thus the operations of SGWAUT. He cited the conflict between the appetite of educational establishments and the ability of government to finance them, a conflict that could lead to a freeze and cutback of staff. He noted the realignment of authority in the province, with the Directorate General of Higher Education (DIGES) acting as the executive arm of government, and the Conseil des Universités reduced to an essentially advisory role, while the role of the Conference of Rectors and Principals was quite fuzzy. Finally, Dr. Potter said, the Castonguay-Nepveu report was changing the status of the professions in Quebec. SGWAUT faced new options and hazards. One problem was that it had no legal identity, and could only exert moral persuasion. How effective would this be in the new environment?

Representing the Association of Professors of Universities in Quebec (FAPUQ), Roger Verschingel reported that on the matter of unionism association opinion ranged from the far right to the far left. Only at Polytechnique and Laval were the professors now members of an actual syndicate. But it was possible for any association to be incorporated either as a workers' union or as a professional association. On some of the younger campuses there was a strong desire to go the whole way and become a union within the CNTU; the CNTU in fact now had small affiliates on most campuses. One major disadvantage of such a step would be that the union would have to negotiate, like the civil servants and the teachers,

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food services no cafeteria?

Cafeteria revenues are down \$5,000 over last year and, Food Services Manager Jim Gowland, says, "the situation would be catastrophic if it were not for outside catering revenues."

There appear to be a number of reasons for the situation. About 6,000 people use the cafeteria daily, but the average bill is only 39 cents per head. If that could be raised to 45 cents, Gowland says, there would be no problem. Of the 6,000, only 500 buy full meals. Meanwhile, the annual loss from pilferage and absent-minded removal of equipment runs at about \$8,000 a year.

Gowland has to meet the wage bill of 45 full-time and 55 part-time employees, pay \$44,000 in space imputation charges, and \$6-7,000 for maintenance of his equipment. In addition, there are substantial night cleaning charges because of the mess that a day's use makes of the cafeteria. But Quebec insists that any university cafeteria be fully self-supporting.

One major problem, Gowland thinks, is that lack of accommodation is scaring people away. He reckons that at peak periods up to half the cafeteria tables are being used by students for card-playing, study and general sociability, the result in part of lack of adequate lounge space elsewhere. About 1,500 customers use the cafeteria from 11 a.m. to 2 p.m., which gives a utilization rate 1.7 per seat. The usual norm in outside restaurants over such a period is 3 people. Gowland says, however, that he has had no complaints about a cafeteria prices, and there is nowhere within half a mile radius of the Hall Building with lower prices.

Prices in the dining room of the Faculty Club are set by the club, and are generally about 30 per cent higher than in the cafeteria. The Faculty Club is also losing money on its dining operations.

Another problem for Food Services is that it is in effect running a 30-week

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inflation

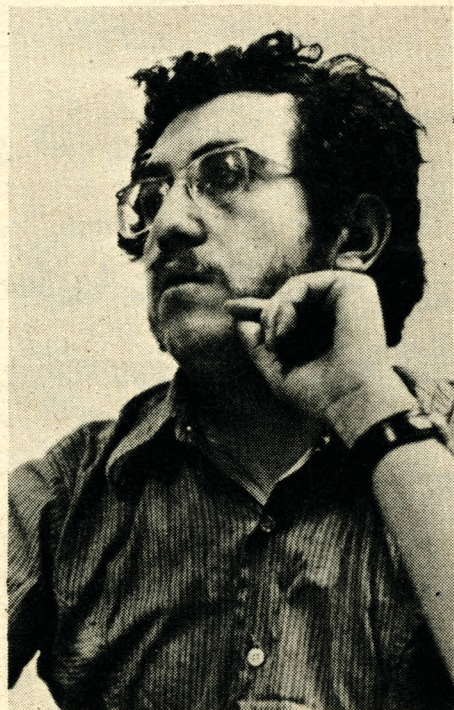
what I think is an intolerable amount of unemployment. I'm not sure what the costs of inflation are really; some have argued that it will affect Canada's trade position in the world but I think other trading partners, including the United States, are experiencing price increases which, in many cases, are no less than those that are occurring in Canada. I think that the real costs of unemployment are far greater than those of inflation. By real costs, one can include the real economic costs, as well as the psychological and social costs. The real costs have been expressed, I think, in the recent problems we've been having here in Quebec and the dissatisfaction that has been expressed in the Maritimes. The real question seems to be "which is worse, unemployment or inflation?" Trudeau, for reasons which, I feel, he has not really explained adequately, has chosen to solve the inflation problem. One of the things which has become apparent given the structural make-up of the Canadian economy: is that, there will inevitably be a conflict between the two goals. You are going to have to eventually trade off one objective for the other. Trudeau is trading off much too much unemployment for very little success in fighting inflation.

The government's new prices and incomes commission hasn't been, I think, very successful. The government has been trying to encourage restraint on both the unions' and industry's part with little success and meanwhile unemployment has been going up and up. I think the national average now is around seven per cent and as you know averages can be deceptive; while the national average is seven per cent, Quebec's could be nine per cent and in the Maritimes, 12 per cent. The average doesn't take into account of age groups. If you look at the data, most of the unemployed are in the under 25 age group.

There is another interesting thing. A common view of the unemployed is that they are lazy and don't want to work, but now professionals who hold this view are becoming unemployed and these people are discovering what it is like to be told not to come in next week. One comment I would like to make here is that if Trudeau takes inflation as a greater problem than unemployment, the least he can do is institute a modest guaranteed annual income. By modest I mean something like \$3000 a year for a single individual, scaled upward with size of family and taking into account regional disparities, urban and rural dwellers and so on. Experiments done in New Jersey have shown that people guaranteed a minimum income are actually induced into going out to work rather than discouraged to work. So I don't really believe those who think a guaranteed income will stop a lot of people working.

I'm not sure inflation would run rampant if Trudeau didn't concentrate on fighting it. I don't think the situation is a hyperinflation in the sense of post war Germany where people were running around with wheelbarrows filled with money trying to buy postage stamps. I don't think that we are anywhere near that. I should make explicit that the economic goals expressed by public bodies are full employment - that is a maximum 3 per cent unemployment which takes into ac-

count changing jobs, seasonal unemployment and a 2 1/2 per cent increase in the consumer price index or the wholesale price index. At the moment we're



experiencing an inflation of around 6 per cent and I wonder why everybody is getting worried about this. Where it really hurts are the poor groups with fixed incomes, welfare payments, or low salaries which can't be changed because of lack of unionization. But the banks come along and say that as creditors in the past we've given out "high-valued" money and now we're getting back "low-valued" money. However, if one looks at bank statements and sees their rate of return, one has to wonder what their compliant really is. The only problem with the modest inflation which we are experiencing, as I see it, is that everybody wants to make sure that he is getting his fair cut of the pie. A conflict atmosphere is created - the incidents of strikes goes up because everybody is trying to beat the game. But in fact everyone is losing the game with the growing rate of unemployment. ■

SGWAUT

with "la fonction publique" and the "Direction du plan", two tough organs of the Quebec government.

At the last FAPUQ executive meeting it was decided to ask member associations to become syndicates so that FAPUQ would then become a "centrale syndicale", but this step would not by itself create bargaining rights. That was a separate matter. At a recent meeting with the Conference of Rectors and Principals a joint position was developed. First CRPUQ and FAPUQ would try to find out how the government proposed to negotiate next year, and with whom. Then it was agreed that the "masse salariale" and a minimum scale for professors, including the cost of living increase, would be negotiated on a provincial basis, while it would be left to the individual associations to carry on from there. If this did not work out, Dr. Verschingel said, some Faculty associations could be expected to join the CNTU within 12 months. He added that, though the proposed negotiation with government would be a joint one, FAPUQ reserved the right to present a separate brief. In conclusion, he com-

mented that it would likely be far harder to defend academic freedom against the people who run the CNTU than against the government.

Alwyn Berland, executive director of the Canadian Association of University Teachers, described its current activities. CAUT was now conducting a study on student-faculty relations, dealing with such matters as student membership of appointment committees. The main activity of CAUT, he said, was necessarily related to academic freedom and tenure. In the past, 84 separate grievances had been handled, of which only about 3 per cent became public. They included the current trouble at UQAM, which he described as "one of the most scandalous examples in the past 15 years".

A first survey on the state of tenure in Canadian universities was likely to appear in the next CAUT bulletin. Guidelines would soon be published regarding the treatment of faculty cutbacks for budgetary reasons, designed to protect tenure through proper procedures.

In answer to a question about unionization, he said there was none so far elsewhere in Canada, but experience in the States had shown that unions were generally unsympathetic regarding such matters as academic freedom, the need to conduct research, and the normal pattern of academic life.

Joseph Mouldoux asked whether cutbacks for financial reasons could be accepted at all. Professor Berland said that in any case certain steps were essential. First, it had to be clear that finance was the bona fide reason for the cutback. Secondly, the cutback must be made by the proper agency, the senior academic body. Thirdly, the choice of individuals must rest with the departments concerned. In addition if a tenured professor was affected, he must be treated according to the normal procedures for the dismissal of someone with tenure.

Reporting for the Salary Committee, Dr. Potter stated that after adamant negotiation with the Administration the overall percentage of increase this year had been raised from 6.4 to 7.2 per cent. Stanley French and Fred Krantz both drew attention to what they considered irregularities in the execution of the resulting salary policy. Dr. French said that the Arts Faculty chairmen considered that the money left after the payment of the cost of living increase should go to merit increases, not largely to the so-called statutory increases. Professor Krantz suggested SGWAUT make a systematic enquiry into the allocation of the available funds; Dr. Potter said SGWAUT was asking for a performance record.

Reporting for the Committee on Non-salary Budgetary Items, Roly Wills said that the main task was to avoid a trade-off between salaries and fringe benefits. An Administration proposal to pay for book allowance, travel, memberships, etc. on a per capita basis was under study. The main problem was to establish a reliable index on which to base payments. Also, the Administration was investigating additional parking facilities and memberships in the YMCA and YWCA. ■

food service

operation. Though staff costs can be but in the summer, overheads must still be met.

What can be done about the situation? Clearly, administrative action must be taken to reduce pilferage; people caught are subject to prosecution, even though they may plead that "they are just borrowing stuff like everyone else."

The cafeteria is now being used extensively as a student lounge, though the Food Services management pays imputation charges on it as if it were entirely devoted to food operations. Either such use must be stopped by disciplinary measures or part of the space be officially designated as a lounge and covered by different financial arrangements.

Prices can be increased, but this might well further reduce the number of customers. Or a minimum charge be set, so that people bringing lunches will pay their share.

Finally, the question arises whether SGWU does in fact need as extensive a cafeteria operation as it is now carrying. Gowland tries to meet the many requests he receives for special items, but it could be that the answer is to move in the opposite direction. And limit cafeteria service to sandwiches, hamburgers and hot dogs, with resulting savings in space needs and staff.

The cafeteria is essentially a service to the SGWU community, but a service that but to pay its way. At present it can't do this. So the community have to decide what kind of a cafeteria they are prepared to support. This is the emerging problem that now faces not just Food Services management but the university as a whole. ■

Mr. Bryant is an associate professor of Geography. Below, he sets forth his 'tongue-in-cheek' argument concerning the growing tendency towards quantitative analysis in Geography.

If I were to ask a student to describe the Venus of Milo, and if he were to turn in a simple categorisation of bust, waist, hips, measurements, I would certainly not regard that as an expression of adequate appreciation of the Venus. I would tell that student that he had missed the whole essential point, about that Venus or any other, and I would suggest to him, politely and moderate terms (I hope), that he ought to put his tape-measures and slide rules, etcetera, where the monkey puts his nuts.

There are some areas where tape-measures, slide rules, calibrators, computers, and the like, can be useful tools of analysis. So far as geography is concerned, they may be of some marginal utility to a limited circle of specialists. Naturally, one does not regard geography as descriptive - analysis is more important than unventory, and the quantitative mathematical tools may have a certain usefulness in the processes of analysis. But I am not prepared to admit that they have a major role - as some enthusiasts would apparently have us accept. Geography is essentially qualitative, *not* quantitative.

Hence, it is imprudent to introduce students in their first year to quantitative methods of analysis. They will be very liable to develop an entirely lop-sided sense of the meaning of geography.

George Perkins Marsh ("Man and Nature", 1864) had a far better appreciation of essential geography, than some of our present-day pundits, who have proceeded straight from their B.A., to M.A., then Ph.D., without ever having had to test their theories against any practical real-life situation. However intellectually brilliant they may be, their contribution is fatally flawed by their lack of practical experience. It beats me how anyone could presume to write a whole chapter of a book, allegedly about geography, without ever mentioning a place-name. He ought to get out of his office, or study, and learn to ride a camel - he'd a better geographer. Humboldt, Ratzel, John Wesley Powell, Vidal de la Blache, de Martonne, may be dead and classic - but they forgot more about geography than some of our "quantitative" pundits ever knew.

Personnally, when I come to a page of equations, square roots, sigma sings, and the like, I skip it and proceed to something more interesting. Lots of folk do the same. They are useful, up to a point, but they're not my bag. As for the zealots who seem to insist on ramming quantitative methods down my throat, I react - perhaps overly so, my simple and natural reaction is to say, if they like to kid themselves that what they are doing is useful and interesting and important to anybody barring themselves - they are perfectly entitled to their viewpoint. Provided always that they allow me the right to say that for me, it is not useful or interesting or important, (or the generality of my students - who are not so easily fooled).

I do *not* teach quantitative geography. I find myself compelled, now and again, to introduce my classes to elementary economic terminology - although the proper place to learn about that is in the economics department. I have to explain about input-output, and cost benefit analysis (in conservation). This necessity simply illustrates the fact, clear enough so far as I am concerned, that geography impinges on a whole gamut of other disciplines. Perhaps least of all the sciences can it lend itself to being narrowed down, compartmentalised, departmentalised, and reduced to a set of figures and equations.

confusing footnotes for intelligence

R. W. G. Bryant



I proceeded more or less straight from graduate school into that well-know para-military organization, the British Army. I spent most of W.W. II in topographical intelligence - a strictly practical use of geography for military ends. We did not sit on our bottoms in Cairo providing Eight Army with abstract mathematical models of the distribution of watering points in the Western Desert, or a "Chorley and Haggett" analysis of the areas where "going" was good for tracked vehicles. We did not draw choropleth maps of the hypothetical distribution of bombing targets in the Balkans - nor produce a network analysis of the road system in Anatolia. We'd have looked pretty silly if we did.

Granted, our quantitative methods pundits are not working under those somewhat unusual conditions. All the same, I can't help feeling that it would do some of them a power of good - if they did have some such experience.

City and regional planning is in the same fix as geography. I once functioned in a medium-sized British city, where the development plan of the primeval post-war epoch provided for three belt highways, inner, intermediate and outer, to tie the essentially radial highway pattern together. That was strictly a "seat-of-the-pants" approach. In the late 1950's, the plan was due for revision. In the light of local knowledge, and a new national expressway proposal, tangential to the built-up area, I produced an outline proposal, replacing the middle and outer rings by a north-south local collector expressway, tangential to the

core of the city. Leaving this small monument to my labours, I then departed for pastures new.

The city subsequently gathered together a team of traffic engineers, programmers, and so on, who gave the problem the whole "works", of sophisticated analysis - at a cost to the taxpayers that might be itself an interesting statistic. The end-product of all this was - guess what (?) a tangential north-south expressway, exactly as had been proposed before the team ever arrived on the scene.

I once slept soundly through two hours of a portentous paper given by three portentous experts, (two Department of Transportation, one Massachusetts Institute of Technology) on systems analysis as applied to decision-making processes in re transportation in the Boston-Washington corridor. Subsequently, when I read this solemn and pontifical doggerel, I wished that I'd stayed awake, and raised my voice at discussion time. To get down to the nitty-gritty, they said *nothing* that could not have been said in five minutes, using plain short English words. Briefly, it could have run as follows - size up the problem, decide which factors are important, toss out the rest, and make policy decisions accordingly. None of this needs a computer or solemn gobbledegook - it simply needs informed intelligence, stored between the ears. In any case, the real-life decisions would be governed by political, personal and other factors - not susceptible to precise analysis.

"They murmured as they took their fees - There is no cure for this disease".

The disease I diagnose is the solemn futility of trying to quantify things that are inherently not quantifiable, and to convert a useful tool of analysis into something it is not, and never can be, namely, a substitute for thought. Moreover, the process frequently involves taking a steam hammer to crack a nut.

Having thus let off steam, I am prepared to concede certain merits in being systematic. When Pat Brown was governor of California, before it became Reaganised he did a very sensible thing. He called in the analytical skills developed in the aerospace industry, and had the aerospace people zero in on two specific problems, namely, recreation space and garbage disposal. This was good. At least, California would have an informed appreciation of the problems. But where the thing fell down was in the implementation. San Francisco has been talking about sending its garbage to holes in the Nevada desert by block trains of hopper cars - the "Twentieth Stenchery Limited" - but could not agree on financial terms with the railroads. The Dutch have been doing that very thing for forty years - and that must have got going without benefit of aerospace technology. The original hopper cars have stainless steel linings. But then, the Netherlands are organised whereas California is not.

I'm not about to suggest any quick answer to the problem of excess proliferation of technology. Any reasonable medicine for this ailment of our society must include an important element of horse sense. Horses aren't as common as they once were - but horse sense remains valuable. ■

James Eayrs

(from page one)

gures, files and statistics could never measure the depth of hurt and outrage dealt out to those of us who love this land. It is because we are Canadians that we protest the violation of our birth-right". Will those Quebeckers imprisoned without charge or reason these past few weeks emerge with their patriotism comparably unscathed?

V.J. Day brought no respite, no restitution, to Canadians of Japanese descent. Their pleas before the Supreme Court of Canada, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, were quashed by jurists more concerned with the allocation of powers than with the loss of human rights. They remained wards of the state, citizens with no recourse to justice. Three years after the war ended they were still not allowed to travel freely in British Columbia, nor fish in Pacific coastal waters. These restrictions, a study of their predicament noted in 1948, "will undoubtedly disappear with the final expiration of the extension of the war powers of the government". But the war powers of the government were not permitted to expire until 1954.

Emergency powers are like hard drugs — easy to get hooked, but hard to break the habit. In post-war Ottawa, like wartime Ottawa, orders-in-council became the order of the day. Rule by fiat replaced the rule of law.

On December 16, 1947, Parliament debated yet another bill by which the Liberals were to cling to what the War Measures Act had given them in 1939. The CCF supported it. Only the Conservatives were opposed.

J.M. Macdonell of Toronto led the Tory attack. "We who have been free, moderately, are asked to put shackles on ourselves. We who have struggled for generations to achieve the position of living under the rule of law are now to live to a very large extent under the arbitrary powers of one man... It may well be asked how people who call themselves Liberals were ever brought to agree to this".

Across the aisle in the House of Commons, one person calling himself Liberal was gloomily asking himself the same question. He was the Liberal Prime Minister of Canada. The Cabinet had drafted the bill in his absence overseas, drafted it to C.D. Howe's specifications — which proved to be exacting. "They are far too arbitrary and quite contrary to the Liberal method. Both he and the government will regret these features of the bill".

Pretty good prophecy. Authority accustomed to the arbitrary power over a quarter of a century was to grow incorrigibly arrogant in its use. There followed the disgrace of Black Friday,

June 1956, the defeat of Black Monday, June 1957.

Emergency powers are here again. The case against them stays the same. Emergency powers are over-rated weapons even when used in conventional wars against conventional enemies. Their value is primarily psychological. They put freedom on a par with its totalitarian adversary. They show an anxious public that something's being done. They create an atmosphere of crisis. They signal there's a war on. They allow authority to arrest, detain, censor, expropriate, with more impunity than before. All most convenient for authority. But not an unmixed blessing for society. Especially a society like Canada.

Will Rogers used to say of an American presidential election: "It takes a great country to stand that sort of thing every four years". We could say the same thing about resorting to war measures.

Canadian democracy is a long way from the toughest. "One third of the people hardly believe in it". So one authority affirms, and cites a formidable list of obstacles to democracy in Quebec: a history depriving French-speaking Canadians of fighting for their freedom, a church encouraging political indifference, a struggle for *survival* that places a premium on cynicism and corrupting civic virtue.

A brutal, brilliant diagnosis. One of Trudeau's best. You'd think the treatment is self-evident. But instead of tender loving care to prevent rejection of the democratic transplant, the patient is made to undergo radical surgery combined with electro-shock therapy at extremely high voltages. The patient may not survive to sue his physician for malpractice.

The brown-belt holder of Sussex Drive — to change the metaphor abruptly — has sent French Canada reeling with his double-whammy. First, an inflexible federalism thwarts the legitimate aspirations of a nationalist movement seeking its fulfillment. He believes nationalism to be "an impoverishing device". He believes French-Canadian nationalism, insofar as it is searching out an ambience beyond the confines of a traditional federal state, to be a wayward and irrational force. He believes himself able to curb its force by reason and rhetoric. But when the irresistible force of a nationalist movement with its steam and dander up meets the immovable object of stubborn federal po-

wer, the outcome is either partition — civil war.

Along with the rigid federalism goes an unfeeling fiscalism. Refusing to head off the revolution by constitutional concession, Trudeau refuses to buy it off with jobs. Discontent follows, as night must fall. To paralyze that discontent he Prime Minister resorts to the Kaite chop of the War Measures Act. . . stunning performance. But of political judo, not of statemanship.

Restricting liberties is bad enough at any time, even wartime. Restricting liberties in an effort to combat the protracted urban violence now assailing nearly every country of the white, wealthy Western world is worse than a crime — it's a mistake.

Deploying the War Measures Act against the FLQ only promoted a ragged platoon of tyro terrorists — whose amateurism is surpassed solely by the police in hot and unavailing pursuit of them — to the status of belligerents against the realm of Canada, as if they were an unfriendly foreign power. That does them too much honour, vests in them too much importance, for anyone's good but their own.

The Prime Minister thinks polarization through the Public Order Act desirable. "I like a country", he remarked on 6 November, "where people have to stand up and be counted. I don't like wishy-washy thinking on anything. As much as possible I like people to have clear choices. That's the way I am".

It's too bad that's the way he is, because to draw with such crude studies will not permit the profile of the revolutionary terrorist to emerge with sufficient shading and detail for any reasonable likeness, any recognizable portrait. And if we can't see the terrorist as he really is, we won't be able to track him down, much less correct the conditions by which he is created. It's not enough to call the terrorist bad names. We must try to see what makes him tick.

It's a sad and sorry commentary on the condition of social sciences in Canada that nothing in its literature — political, economic, sociological — helps us understand terrorism as a political phenomenon. I doubt whether the word figures in the index of any major work. Certainly between "Territories: see Rupert's Land, North West Territories" and "Thatcher, W. Ross" — I read from the index of the recent fifth edition of *The Government of Canada* by Dawson and Ward — neither "terrorist" nor "terrorism" are found.

So we have to start from scratch. What I now offer as observations on the subject, in full awareness of how groping and incomplete they are.



war measures



A revolution such as is now latent in Quebec has many kinds of revolutionaries. There's a study of the revolution in San Domingo, *Barrios in Arms* by José Moreno (a Cuban sociologist doing field work in the Dominican Republic when the revolution broke, and whom I'm certain as one can be in matters

of this kind is not a C.I.A. agent, not full time at any rate). It offers a typology which may be helpful.

Moreno distinguishes among five rebel types, using the Spanish names for each.

First, the *Idealistas*. They are the idealists of revolt. Their behaviour is marked by unselfishness and concern for the welfare of others. Their political ideology is marked by (a) a highly nationalistic view of the revolution; (b) visionary solutions to the country's problems; (c) altruism in their aims; (d) advocacy of democratic methods. They tend to come from upper middle class backgrounds.

Side by side with the *idealistas* are those whom Moreno calls the *Acomplejados*, which he translates as "Socially Complex-Ridden Rebels". This type of revolutionary is moved not by altruism and missionary zeal but by something in his past from which he wants to break free. He seeks a violent transformation in the life of his country, in order to accomplish, and legitimize, a violent transformation in his own. But he is no democrat at heart. He is more likely totalitarian. His is the appetite which causes the revolution to start devouring its children.

Next in Moreno's typology of rebels are the *Rebeldes Profesionales*, the professional rebels.

Their ideology is highly authoritarian. They are well endowed with *machismo* — that Latin virtue embodying courage, toughness, physical prowess. Many are in the officer corps. There they conceive their function as custodial, having in their charge of last resort the honour of the state. They are the ones to lead the revolts of the generals.

A fourth type is presented by the *Aprovechados*, the opportunists. These are not so much soldiers of revolution as soldiers of fortune. They are in it for kicks, not ideology. They want the thrill of carrying a gun, the excitement of spraying a mob with automatic fire. They are alienated from society want revenge upon society. They tend to be criminals.

Fifthly and finally, the *Hijos de Machepas*, the mass rebels. They joined the revolution because their friends and neighbours joined. It seemed the thing to do. They are the drifters of revolution. Here is one typology of rebellion.

To put it to work, it should be applied, with a modicum of social scientific method,

to the cadres in Quebec. I for one haven't done the necessary field work. I'm not even sure it's legal to do the necessary field work. All the same, that field work must be done to understand our present discontents. It ought to be high on the agenda of any Canadian social scientist worthy of his title. What more fitting memorial to the victim of political terror than a study of the social forces that took his life? Better by far than naming a bridge after him.

To identify the FLQ and its supporters with the fourth of these five categories of rebels is misleading and inaccurate. No doubt the *Front* and its fringer has its fair share, perhaps more than its fair share, of *Aprovechados* — criminal opportunists who seek to subvert a nationalist revolution for their own squalid and perverted ends. But the *Front* is not entirely composed of people just like these. Analysis of its personnel would disclose support, however small, across the entire spectrum of rebel typology — from the *Hijos de Machepas* at one of its extremes to the *Idealistas* at the other.

The Prime Minister seeks to write off, to put down, the FLQ as a clutch of criminal opportunists. They occupy, he says, "a moral wasteland". They are composed, he says, of "fanatics... diabolic in their need to inspire hatred". They have, he says, "no mandate but terror, no policies but violence, no solutions but murder".

We are in the presence here of what an American sociologist, H.L. Nieburg, calls the "riff-raff theory of revolution", which enables incorrigible mischief-makers and no-gooders to unleash uncontrolled escalations, sweeping responsible and law-abiding by-standers into a vortex of violence.

But the trouble with the riff-raff theory is that it is the hypothesis of riff-raff theorists. It does not account for what really happens. Specifically (to quote Nieburg once more) it does not adequately account for the process by which the riff-raff, if indeed that is what they are, achieve legitimacy and leadership roles. Social contagion cannot be viewed as automatic and independent of other variables.

Nieburg, *Political Violence* (St. Martins Press, N.Y., 1969), p. 20).

The riff-raff theory is often pressed into the service of those blue-ribbon

presidential panels appointed to investigate the causes of riot and violence in the black ghettos of American cities. Common to their findings are three assumptions. First, that only a tiny fraction of the black ghetto populations took part in the rioting. Second, that the rioters do not represent, do not even include, the solid citizens of the black community. Third, most black Americans unequivocally oppose the riots. Nieburg, looking on as a sociologist, not a politician, offers this corrective: "All sociological studies of American ghetto riots in the sixties dispute these three assumptions".

The Dominican Republic is not the same place as Quebec. The black American is not the same person as Vallières' *négre blanc*. No parallels are exact. But some are remarkably illuminating.

In the aftermath of overkill there is a lesson to be learned. Violence in society, up to and including terror and assassination, are natural manifestations of political behaviour. Violence is not beyond politics. Violence is a part of politics. The political scientist should not let go, give up his studies, surrender his research to the criminologist and the psychopathologist when the going gets rough and people get killed. If he is worth his pay and pension that is precisely when he ought to have something valuable to say. Political science in Canada has spilled all sorts of ink over the King-Byng crisis. What has it to say about the Cross-Laporte crisis? Millions for the B.N.A. Act, not one cent for murder. As someone peripherally connected with political science in Canada, I feel uncomfortable in the presence of this fact.

Perhaps that's because the sector of the discipline in which I try to make my way is that of international politics. And it is of course in one international politics that violence is as Canadian as maple syrup. Canada is a member of NATO, an acronym which might be rendered the North Atlantic Terrorist Organization. It deploys weapons systems which hold not just individuals but entire population hostage, terrorizes whole societies.

When it falls to us to rationalize such fathy, we do so on the grounds that major derangements in international society require resort to threats of destruction, require participation in the balance of terror. Why can't we admit that there may be major derangements in our own society which to some of its members justify terror on a smaller scale than the foreign policy of Canada? The child, we know, is father to the man. But "The Man" — counter-culture slang for established authority — is also father to the child. How "The Man" comports himself sets an example to the rest. It hasn't been, for some time past, an inspiring example.

convocation

As a member of the graduating class in the Fall of 1970, I would like to comment on the address of the Honourable Bryce Mackasey, Minister of Labour.

Mr. Mackasey took the students to task for voicing criticism without accepting the responsibility of working for change. He said that they must now "discharge their obligation to society". He never really defined this obligation apart from pointing to the example of the World War Two Veterans who came to Sir George. "They were serious and hard-working, determined to complete their education and intent on joining the mainstream of economic life". This re-statement of the Protestant Ethic is revealing of the very elements in today's power structure that youth most resents. This set of values emphasizes militarism and chauvinism and measures men by their production. Against this the turned-on generation offers pacifism, a love of mankind, and a search for values more real than the dollar. They challenge any value system that equates virtue with productivity.

Mr. Mackasey told the graduating class that they had not as yet made any contribution to society. As a member of the labour force for eighteen years, I resented that statement and I am sure others did also. As a Georgian (non-graduated), Mr. Mackasey should have known that many of the graduates were evening students, but then politicians have notoriously poor memories. This serious slip in understanding his audience completely negates his claim to understanding today's student. This is the dangerous self-illusion shared by most of our ruling group. They feel they understand the student, the poor, the black, but they do not. The result is an insensitivity revealed not only in convocation addresses but also in decisions that lead the government to fight inflation at the expense of Montreal's unemployed. Mr. Mackasey decried violence as a tactic for political reform yet one cannot help wondering if the government decision to revise its anti-inflation policies are not in some way a reflection of the brutal events in recent days in Montreal.

Mr. Mackasey is not a man of vision; he offered no new principles and had no idea how the future leaders of our country would do better than his group. He represents the ultimate in conservatism. Perhaps next year the university will be more careful in its selection of a politician to receive an honorary degree. Perhaps this award should go to a man of distinction who has made some meaningful contribution to the improvement of Canadian society, and who foresees practical changes to ameliorate the condition of the underprivileged. It is of course, quite probable that no such man exists amongst the leaders of either of our main political parties.

Bruce Smart

blue cross

One hundred one members of the library staff have sent a letter to the university administration indicating that we are interested in having more complete dental coverage included in the Blue Cross Plan. Other people who are interested in similar coverage should get in touch with the University Personnel Office, 2020 Mackay Street, telephone 4304.

Monica Czanyo for library staff who signed request.

code

The following is a critical analysis of some major short-comings of the proposed Code, recommendations for change and suggestions for new inclusions.

Page two of the document leads off with a significant and questionable statement:

"Situations can arise in which immediate administrative action may be required to protect the proper functioning of the University, the procedures set out in this document notwithstanding."

(see Ed. Note, page 7)

This declaration is identical in intent and substance to the much criticized War Measures Act. Not only does it place, in the hands of the Principal, or chief officer of the University, the power to suspend the entire document without restraint, but it destroys every vestige of individual rights as set down in Part One of the Canadian Bill of Rights.

What is the purpose of such extraordinary residual powers? Are they to thwart attempts at "occupation", "violence", or "revolution"? These reasons do not suggest themselves. As we can learn from the events of the past month, there is more than a passing concern for the political atmosphere within the jurisdiction of concerned governments.

At Sir George, political strife of one sort or another has dominated the scene for the better part of four years. Is this likely to change? What has happened during the past four years is that individuals have consistently been offered up as sacrificial lambs for essentially political reasons within the broad context of what is political. Some people call it "saving one's neck". This is very likely to continue in an environment that permits the continued operation of "instant" power elites who function in a threat/demand matrix.

This provision then, clearly does not afford the individual too much, if any, in the way of protection from arbitrary decision. The more serious the situation, the more serious the effects of any outcome but also necessarily it would mean the increased possibility of the application of this provision.

Should a student be the "defendent" then things can go badly. He may, as thousands of others, not be able to provide him or herself with adequate legal protection through legal assistance. However, should a member of the faculty or an employee in the Library who has the CNTU or a senior administration executive be the "defendent", then the situation changes. We know of SGWUAT and the CNTU and of course the University maintains certain obligations to their administrators to protect him or her in the course of his duties.

The following two recommendations should be considered to change these situations:

1. That the provision for unilateral "administrative" action be either eliminated or modified to include the necessity of the chief executive officer of the University justifying emergency measures before a meeting of the Board of Governors of the University.

2. The University should be compelled in all cases to provide defendant(s) with the necessary legal assistance. Further, it is also recommended that the University and its agents be required to notify the defendant(s), at the time of

charge, of their right(s) to legal assistance supplied by the University.

DISCRIMINATION

In the closing paragraph on *Rights and Responsibilities*, a statement sets down "certain personal responsibilities":

"The protection of such rights requires the... refraining from... discrimination against any person on the basis of race, colour, creed or ethnic origin."

Is this statement expansive or limited to the areas actually stated? Does it mean that discrimination is recognized only in these particular instances and that should other forms exist they are not recognized as punishable?

If the intention is to generally include or take cognizance of all forms of discrimination that we know of now and that are within the context of this University community at this time then we should not limit, in the original instant, the nature of discrimination which are disallowed.

It is, therefore, recommended that the statement be amended to include the following provisions which should read:

1. "The protection of such rights requires the... refraining from... discrimination against any person on the basis of race, colour, creed, ethnic origin, sex or status within the University Community."

PROTECTION

On page four, the proposed Code suggests that:

"The appropriate authority will acknowledge the complaint as expeditiously as possible."

It is not necessary to go into details about the hundreds and thousands who sit in jails across the country waiting for trials despite the provisions of the Canadian Bill of Rights. The E.S.A. has, at least, one fully documented case of a student charged for cheating who, but for the intervention of his association was being denied the right to an expeditious handling of his charges - with serious potential consequences.

Recommendation:

That a definite time limit be established for the notification and trial of any case in the Socio-Academic Code. After which time limit, should notification and/or trial not be made and/or commenced, all charges be dropped automatically.

STUDENT GOVERNMENT

We have, it seems, accepted the concept of establishing rights and responsibilities and subsequent controls for students, faculty and University employees. Dealing within the framework of "individuals", we have literally excluded one of the most important segments within the University.

The several student associations retain some of the greatest powers to confuse and abuse individuals within the University. Acting virtually independent of existing regulatory structures other than their often violated constitutions, student governments are sometimes the worst offenders in the area of individual rights.

Over 17,000 students, each year, are compelled to "join" one or another of the student government complexes. Over \$200,000 in fees are collected each year without choice on the part of the student and often without the necessary burden on student councils to appropriate funds properly and legally.

Student government is run, has been run, and probably always will be run by loose consortiums of factional cliques that juggle power and, in many cases, lose complete sight of their mandates or purposes.

How is a student to combat irresponsibility in his or her respective student government? Student leaders are under absolutely no compulsion to be responsible. When you only hold office for a year, who cares?

There must be a vehicle for each and every student to use, should he or she feel and can prove that student government is functioning unconstitutionally. The constitutions are basically sound but their provisions are useless if there is no watchdog to ensure they are honoured. Student governments have proved themselves unable to watch themselves and the Board of Governors, from where formal authority is derived, are too remote to be effective.

Therefore, the following recommendation is made as a possible answer to the situation.

1. That all student organization in the University including but not limited to the:

Arts Students' Association
Commerce Students' Association
Engineering Students' Association
Evening Students' Association
Graduate Students' Association
Science Students' Association
Students' Association

be required to submit themselves and their constitution to the interpretation, upon petition, by constituents of the Association so petitioned, of various courts, tribunals and agents of the University as established under the University Code in the Socio-Academic Area.

Wayne Gray
President, ESA

Ed. Note: This paragraph continues: "But such action will not preclude the subsequent application of these procedures or the intervention of the ombudsman."

\$25 reward

For the capture, on paper, of the best idea on student government. Said reward will be paid to any student of Sir George Williams University. Said bounty will only be paid to the person who brings the idea in the form of a letter (500 words max.) to the editor of Issues & Events. The editor's decision is final.

Notices of financial aid are posted on the 4th floor bulletin boards in the Hall building. Faculty notices will also be posted on the notice board in the faculty club. For more information and application forms (if available) see Guidance Information Center H-440-1. These announcements are only for awards with deadlines up to Dec. 31.

P.E.O. INTERNATIONAL PEACE SCHOLARSHIP FUND (for female citizens of other countries to study in the U.S. or Canada. Deadline: Oct. 1 - Jan. 31)

HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM. Scholarships for Canadians at the Hebrew University. Deadline: Nov. 30.

NATIONAL CANCER INSTITUTE OF CANADA. Research Grants (students in final undergrad. year of Physics or Engineering are eligible). Deadline: Dec. 1.

FUND FOR THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION. Rockefeller Doctoral Fellowships in Religion. Deadline: Dec. 1.

McGILL UNIVERSITY. J.W. McConnell Memorial Fellowships for post-grad. study. Deadline: Dec. 1.

CANADA DEFENCE RESEARCH BOARD. Research Assistantships - Summer employment (Science & Engineering). Deadline: Dec. 1.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY. Knox Memorial Fellowships. Deadline: Dec. 1.

POPULATION COUNCIL. Fellowships in Demography. Deadline: Dec. 15.

DEPT. OF TRANSPORT, Meteorological Branch. Post-grad. Fellowship in Meteorology and Atmospheric Sciences. Deadline: Dec. 15.

CHEMICAL INSTITUTE OF CANADA, Ogilvie Fellowship. Deadline: Dec. 15.

CANADA COUNCIL. Doctoral Fellowships. Applicants must contact their Dept. Chairman & have all documents in to Prof. Jackson (H-915-6) by Dec. 11.

QUEBEC DEPT. OF EDUCATION. Post-grad. Scholarships. Deadline: Dec. 31.

CANADIAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOC. Parliamentary Internships. Deadline: Dec. 31.

STATE SCHOLARSHIP FOUNDATION OF GREECE. Deadline: Dec. 31.

CULTURAL AGREEMENT FRANCE - CANADA. University Scholarships offered by the Govt. of France. Deadline: Dec. 31.

GOVT. OF THAILAND. Scholarships (undergrad. - post doctoral). Deadline: Dec. 31.

NATIONAL INSTITUTE ON MENTAL RETARDATION. Research Bursaries

in Mental Retardation. Deadline: Dec. 31.

GERMAN ACADEMIC EXCHANGE SERVICE FELLOWSHIPS. Deadline: Dec. 31.

SOROPTIMIST INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIPS. Deadline: Dec. 31.

BELGIAN GOVT. FELLOWSHIPS. Deadline: Dec. 31.

POLAND - UNESCO FELLOWSHIP IN SLAVONIC STUDIES. Deadline: Dec. 31.

NETHERLANDS GOVT. SCHOLARSHIPS. Deadline: Dec. 31.

COMMONWEALTH SCHOLARSHIPS. Tenable in Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Ceylon, Ghana. Deadline: Dec. 31.

GOVT. OF ISRAEL. Post-Grad. Scholarships. Deadline: Dec. 31.

FACULTY AWARDS

CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN THE BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES. Residential Post-Doctoral Fellowship Program. No specific Deadline.

NATIONAL CANCER INSTITUTE OF CANADA. Research Grants. Deadline: Dec. 1.

AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOC. Congressional Fellowships. Deadline: Dec. 1.

EXCHANGE OF RESEARCH SCHOLARS WITH FRANCE in the Social Sciences and Humanities. Deadline: Dec. 1.

ACLS RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS FOR FOREIGN SCHOLARS; Europe Deadline: Dec. 1.

ACLS GRANTS FOR RESEARCH ON E. ASIA, S.ASIA. Deadline: Dec. 1.

NATO. Research Fellowships. Deadline: Dec. 15.

BRITISH COUNCIL. Commonwealth University Interchange Scheme. Applications must be in London Eng. by Dec. 15.

POPULATION COUNCIL. Fellowships in Demography (Post-doctoral). Deadline: Dec. 15.

SOROPTIMIST GRANTS-IN-AID. Won only. Deadline: Dec. 31.

GOVT. OF THAILAND. Scholarships. Deadline: Dec. 31.

NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL. Post-doctoral Fellowships. See individual Dept. Chairmen for information. Deadline: Dec. 31.

ACLS Grants for Slavic and E. European Studies. Deadline: Dec. 31.

SGWU / THIS WEEK

thursday 26

CONSERVATORY OF CINEMATOGRAPHIC ART: "Misshandlingen" (Mistreatment), Montreal première of a 1970 Swedish film by Lasse Forsberg (English subtitles), at 7 p.m.; surrealist classic "L'Age d'Or" (Bunuel, 1930) at 9 p.m. in H-110; 50c for students, 75c non-students.

FRENCH 201 - SECTION TV: Channel 9 at 7 and 8:30 a.m., 19:30 p.m.

COMMERCE WEEK: Business seminar at Windsor Hotel - Paul Paré, president of Imperial Tobacco, gives keynote address on "Tell It Like It Is" (concerning student-business communications, not cancer) at 12:30 p.m. luncheon; panel discussion 2:15 - 4 p.m.; further information at 879-4590.

E.S.A. BYELECTIONS: Polling booths (Hall Building mezzanine and main floor Norris) open from 5 to 11 p.m. through tomorrow.

BIOLOGY CLUB: Meeting 1 - 2 p.m. in H-420.

HILLEL: Mime workshop with Gilles Maheu, Théâtre du Soma, 7-9 p.m. at 3460 Stanley, 3rd floor.

GEORGIAN CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP: Folksinging with Bev Weaver and Glen Sharp, 7 p.m. in the Union.

WEISSMAN GALLERY and GALLERY 1: Fine Arts graduate student exhibition (in partial fulfillment of the degree of master of arts in art education) - Astrid Bhreuer, Milo Freeman, Lawrence Kroon, Lise Cloutier-Lamarche, Marie Langlois, Billie Jo Mericle and Alice Lucy Yang until December 3.

friday 27

UNIVERSITY COUNCIL: Meeting at 2 p.m. in H-769 (University Code and Registration Report the big items).

GEORGIAN FILM SOCIETY: "Ben-Hur" (1959) with Charlton Heston, Stephen Boyd and Haya Harareet at 8:30 p.m. in H-110; 99c.

SOCIETY FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF MANAGEMENT: Luncheon at 11:30 a.m. in dining lounge, Hall Building; Seagram's tour starts at 1:30 p.m.; tickets available in N-025.

CARIBBEAN SOCIETY: Meeting at 2 p.m. in H-420.

ENGINEERING DEPARTMENT: Prof. F. Knelman will talk on "Pollution Control and Engineers" at 2 p.m. in H-925.

saturday 28

HILLEL: Endogenous Zone coffee house has folksinger Bob Tanney at 8:30 p.m., 2130 Bishop; admission 25c.

RADIO SIR GEORGE: "Join-In" with Gerry Maffre and David Nayman at 11 p.m. on CFMB (1410).

COMMERCE WEEK: Ball in Versailles Room, Windsor Hotel, 8:30 p.m.; tickets available in N-025 or call 879-5895.

monday 30

HILLEL: Prof. L. Mendelsohn talks on Hasidism, 2:30 p.m. at 2130 Bishop.

GARNET SINGERS: Meeting 5-6 p.m. in H-513; everyone welcome.

POLITICAL SCIENCE SOCIETY: Dr. Allen Newcombe will talk on the Assumptions of Peace Research at 2 p.m. in H-620.

tuesday 1

HILLEL: Yoga with Marti Plaine at 3 p.m., 2130 Bishop.

WORKING WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION OF S.G.W.U.: Meeting at noon in H-615.

FRENCH 201 - SECTION TV: Cable TV's channel 9 at 7 and 8:30 a.m., 10:30 p.m.

PHILOSOPHY DEPARTMENT: Dr. Christine Garside will talk on "Can a Woman be as Good as a Man?" at 4 p.m. in H-613.

wednesday 2

HILLEL: Guitar workshop at 7 p.m., 2130 Bishop.

thursday 3

CONSERVATORY OF CINEMATOGRAPHIC ART: "Firecreek" (1968), with James Stewart and Henry Fonda, at 7 p.m.; "Term of Trial" (1963), with Laurence Olivier and Simone Signoret, at 9 p.m. in H-110; 50c for students, 75c non-students.

FRENCH 201 - SECTION TV: Channel 9 at 7 and 8:30 a.m., 10:30 p.m.

BIOLOGY CLUB: Meeting 1-2 p.m. in H-420.

GRADUATE STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION COUNCIL: Meeting at 5:30 p.m. in H-769.

NOTICES

Students wishing to apply to graduate schools requiring the Graduate Record Exam must write the January 16 test. Deadline for submission of application forms is **December 8**; see Guidance Information Center, H-440-1.

Syracuse University will hold interviews December 4, for those interested in its masters in business administration, master of science in accounting and doctor of philosophy in business; appointments through 879-4249, or Miss Watt in Y-205.

The SGWU Riding Club would like to hear from those interested in riding at special rates during the holidays; contact Paula at 684-4731.

Send notices and photos of coming events to the information office, room 211 of the Norris Building, or phone 879-2867. Deadline for submission is noon **Wednesday** for events the following Thursday through Wednesday.



Top, Alouette all-star and SGWU student Moses Denson is interviewed at Sir George on CBS News, 6:30 p.m. Saturday on channel 3.



What has come over the lady? No cinema holds barred in Luis Bunuel's "L'Age d'Or", Thursday at the Conservatory of Cinematographic Art.

ISSUES & EVENTS

ISSUES & EVENTS is published weekly by the Information Office of Sir George Williams University. Editorial offices are located in room 211 of the Norris Building, 1435 Drummond Street, Montreal 107 (879-2867). Litho by Journal Offset Inc., 254 Benjamin-Hudon, Ville St. Laurent.

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